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700 RESPOND TO THREE-DAY CONFERENCE

Independent-socialists vote for a full slate in N. Y. State elections

A THREE-DAY United Independent-Socialist Electoral Conference June 13-14-15, involving some 700 New Yorkers from all over the state, has determined to undertake the designation of independent-socialist candidates for U.S. Senator, Governor and three other top state offices in the 1958 elections in New York.

By a vote of nearly two-to-one midway in the Conference, the participants rejected an amendment which would have authorized a continuing committee simply to "explore the feasibility" of designating such candidates. The amendment was offered as a try at off-setting opposition by the N.Y. State Communist Party to an independent candidate for governor against the incumbent Averell Harriman, Democrat, on the grounds that the New York labor movement in the main supports the Democratic Party in New York State affairs. The Communist Party view—that it would consider joining in support of a single candidate other than for the governorship—was presented to the Conference by CP state chairman, former New York City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis.

Following the division on the amendment, the Conference voted virtually unanimously for the principal proposition, calling for the designation of candidates for all five top offices. Later, in a concluding action following adoption of a pro-socialist draft platform to which many proposals were added from the floor, the Conference set up a continuing committee with the power to add to its own membership and to "explore all avenues of enlisting the participation of additional socialist and independent forces in a united independent-socialist campaign" as well as to "continue efforts to select a best-possible slate of independent-socialist candidates to be ratified if time permits by a nominating convention."

THE CONCLUDING action would enable the Conference's continuing committee to renew the search for a common meeting ground with the Communist position and that of numerous independents who expressed the view that concentration on a candidate other than for the controversial governorship (U.S. Senator, for example), might produce in New York's November elections a result comparable to the 400,000 votes cast in California for Dr. Holland Roberts, the socialist educator who finished third in a four-man contest for State Superintendent of Public Instruction early this month.

The prevailing majority of the Conference represented the conviction that a gubernatorial candidate was essential to challenge the machine parties, who were separated by only 11,000 votes in the last gubernatorial election in 1954; and to place a pro-socialist party on the New

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SORRY, MOTHER, BUT IT'S GOT TO BE THIS WAY

Crises may come and go, but once a year school must close as teacher (she seems to feel no regrets) hands her little charges back to Mom for the summer. This ecstatic scene in Los Angeles is being repeated all over the U.S. about this time.

SUPREME COURT OVERRULES STATE DEPT.

Non-communist passport affidavits outlawed

THE U.S. SUPREME COURT in a five-four decision last week ruled that the State Dept. has no right to inquire into the political beliefs or associations of those applying for passports and cannot withhold passports from any citizen on the basis of his politics.

The ruling held that Congress had given no such power to the Secy. of State but left in abeyance the question of whether or not it would be constitutional for Congress to do so. Though somewhat short of a definitive constitutional decision, the majority opinion affirmed that "the right of exit is a personal right included within the word 'liberty' as used in the Fifth Amendment." It set only two criteria for the State Dept. to use in issuing passports: Is the applicant an American citizen? Is he involved in unlawful conduct?

AFFIDAVIT'S END: Justice William O. Douglas wrote the majority opinion with Chief Justice Earl Warren, Justices Hugo L. Black, Felix Frankfurter and William J. Brennan Jr. concurring.

Specifically the Court upheld the right to a passport for artist Rockwell Kent of Ausable Forks, N. Y., psychiatrist Dr. Walter Briehl of Los Angeles and physicist Weldon E. Dayton of Corning, N. Y.

Kent and Briehl had refused to sign affidavits concerning their present or past political connections and the ruling thereby effectively ends the affidavit as a passport requirement. Dayton, who in 1954 applied for a passport to do research at the Tata Institute in Bombay, India, had sworn he was not a communist but the passport was denied him on the basis of testimony by anonymous informers.

ROBESON AFFECTED: Attorney Leonard B. Boudin, who has figured in many of the right-to-travel cases, argued for Kent and Briehl before the Supreme Court last April 10, insisting that the State Dept. was limited strictly to a licensing function in granting passports and no more entitled to ask political questions then would a department in charge of issuing drivers' licenses. After the Court ruled, Boudin told the GUARDIAN that from now on the affidavits which ask the present or past political connections of a passport applicant were irrelevant. He said:

"I do not think that any American citizen ought to answer those questions, regardless of what his political views are or were."

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NEW ROADBLOCKS IN THE WAY

Pro-summit sentiment gives Dulles the willies

By Kumar Goshal

EAST-WEST PARLEYS for a summit conference, although obscured by flashier news from France and Lebanon, have been quietly proceeding in Moscow and Washington. The possibility of success was enough to cause Secy. of State John Foster Dulles to put up some roadblocks.

Latest reports indicated that the peoples of the world, including most NATO governments, have not been diverted from pressing for a top-level East-West meeting by the events in France and Lebanon. On June 5 it was reported that a Gallup Poll taken at major opinion centers of the world recorded overwhelming sentiment in favor of a summit conference.

To the question: "Do you favor or oppose a 'summit' meeting between Russia's Khrushchev and Western leaders?" favorable replies ranged from 90% in New Delhi to 52% in Montevideo. The over-all response was 70% in favor, 10% against and 20% undecided. Even in confused Paris, two out of three favored a summit conference.

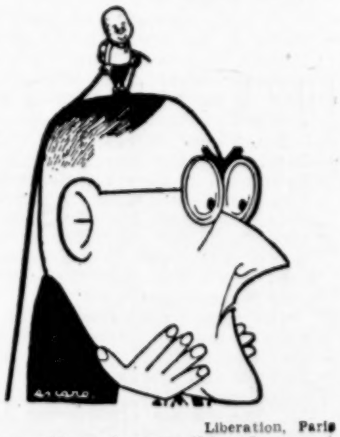
FOR TECHNICAL PARLEY: By last week, Washington had felt the combined pressure of world public opinion, NATO members (who "pressed the view that a summit meeting was worth trying," **N.Y. Times**, 5/25) and Soviet concessions toward broadening the scope of the conference. President Eisenhower, replying to Soviet Premier Khrushchev's letter of June 2, proposed on June 10 that East-West "technical experts meet on or about July 1 in Geneva to study the possibility of detecting violations of a possible agreement on suspension of nuclear tests."

The President agreed that technical experts should attend from the U.S., Britain, France, the U.S.S.R., Poland and Czechoslovakia and produce a final report by the end of July. He left the door open for the inclusion of Indian, Canadian and Japanese experts at a later stage.

DULLES STARTLES: Washington announced that the three principal U.S. experts would be Dr. James Brown Fisk, vice president of Bell Telephone Laboratories, who will be chairman; Dr. Robert F. Bacher, chairman of the Physics, Mathematics and Astronomy Dept. at California Institute of Technology; and Dr. Ernest O. Lawrence, director of the Radiation Laboratory of the Univ. of California. Dr. Lawrence was reported to be against any agreement on test suspension.

The brightening prospects for a sum-

(Continued on Page 10)



Liberation, Paris

"This summit conference thing has gone right over my head."

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REPORT TO READERS

Squirmin' Sherman

WHEN THE $2,400 ORIENTAL RUG was pulled out from under Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams last week, the nation's capital was shocked. The shock, however, was caused not so much by the fact that Adams got free hotel accommodations at $60 a day from a slick Boston operator who was in trouble with government agencies, or a $700 coat, or who knows what else. It was caused by the spectacle of a shrewd Yankee trader like Sherm Adams letting himself get caught in public with his Puritan pantaloons down.

That was the sin—and the cynical summaries by newspaper and radio commentators offer the sharpest comment on the state of political morality under the two-party system as we know it in the greatest Republic in the world.

Of course there have been defenders. Anyone who knows Sherman Adams, said the N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, "knows that he is as honest as the day is long." Fortunately this statement was made under daylight saving time. Ah, yes, said Mrs. Sherman Adams in an interview for which she probably caught hell from Sherm, they jump on him for all these little things, "but what about all the work he has done?" And that's true: there has rarely been a more faithful servant of the electric and power and textile interests, both in New England and in Washington, than Sherm. Never mind the Sheraton Plaza hotel bills; Sherm's stock holdings would make much livelier copy, we suggest.

WERE YOU TOUCHED by the moral indignation and nation-above-party righteousness of Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.), the pipsqueak McCarthy who has been baiting labor ever since he was elected to the Senate? Whose money greased the electoral skids for him? And the Democratic politicians, shaking the frost of the deep-freeze from their mink-coats, pointing with horror at the White House? What corporation is Gen. Vaughan working for now?

Our single-minded President refused to let the uproar change his golf schedule, so we were treated to another demonstration of Government-by-Jim-Hagerty, the Presidential press secretary, who had rather a poor time of it. If any awards are given out for performance above and beyond the call of duty in an empty White House, our vote goes to Jim.

LEST ANYONE GET THE IDEA that we are being cynical about the Adams affair, we think the whole scene in Washington reeks with decay. Don't forget, in the first instance, that it was the Democrats who crippled the very same committee that disclosed the Adams gifts. It was the Democratic leadership which made a backdoor deal with the Republicans to make sure that nothing would be done to help the unemployed victims of the recession. We could go on at length: the hands are dirty on both sides. The art of covering up has become the morality of Washington today. Behind the curtain anything goes. Just don't get caught out front doing anything foolish—as Sherm did—or you're out.

WHAT'S THE ANSWER? We say, as we have said again and again, the answer lies in independent political action to provide an alternative for the American voters. We know the work is hard and we don't expect miracles, but we believe that the decent people of this country will listen to honest voices if they make themselves heard. Modest but impressive beginnings have been made in California, in the Holland Roberts campaign, and in New York, in the convention of the United Independent-Socialist Conference last week-end (see pp. 1 and 9).

We believe that people of integrity want this kind of an alternative to the cold-blooded interest-serving of a Sherman Adams, the mindless meanderings of a William Knowland or the shady backroom politicking of a Carmine De Sapio. There is plenty of room for compromise on the road to progress—but not with cut-throat capitalism, reaction or corruption.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE MAIL BAG

In Auslander's name

NEW YORK, N. Y.

This contribution of $50 is made to honor the late Dr. Jacob Auslander, a splendid physician, a great humanitarian, and an unyielding anti-fascist. He was unsparingly generous to many causes, but I know the NATIONAL GUARDIAN was very dear to his heart.

I hope that this will start a fund by many to honor Dr. Auslander, who was beloved by all.

—Mildred Kaufman

An invitation

MILWAUKEE, WISC.

The Milwaukee Branch of the Socialist Workers Party is preparing a call to independent socialists and progressives to participate in a three-day Fourth of July Holiday conference at Point Beach, Wisc.

The purpose of this gathering will be to explore the possibilities of an enlarged independent labor and socialist ticket in Wisconsin. In any event, the SWP will name a candidate or candidates for the fall election.

We would like to invite all GUARDIAN supporters in Wisconsin.

We are acknowledging and displaying the GUARDIAN in all of our public activities.

James E. Boulton
Organizational Secy.
Socialist Workers Party

Political reality

MONTREAL, CANADA

As a relatively new GUARDIAN subscriber, I would like to express a few words of praise and appreciation for your efforts.

It would appear that one of the main tasks facing North American socialists is that of attaining unity within their own ranks.

For many years now, political and ideological differences between the various sectors of the socialist movement have been maintained and antagonized through blind and sectarian conformity. Unable to discuss amongst themselves, there is little wonder that many present day socialists have difficulty discussing with the people.

The need for a broader and more creative approach to political reality cannot be denied; the GUARDIAN, I feel, is playing an important role in fulfilling that need.

Mike Patterson.

Rickey is right

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In **Look** magazine of May 27 there is an article by Branch Rickey, the one-time Dodger manager who broke the color line in baseball by signing up Jackie Robinson.

Mr. Rickey, discussing the alleged sympathy shown by Paul Robeson for Communism, asks this question: "Why shouldn't they (Negroes) identify themselves with any party organization that promises them freedom from discrimination everywhere?"

As a Negro I ask, why?

The great puzzle about us Negroes is that so few of us have the courage of DuBois and Robeson and openly support the radical movements of the country. The excuse often given is that white people, Communists and others, are out to use us. Common sense should make us know that when a group of white people support Negroes, a minority in the population, they do so from conviction, not as a matter of opportunism.

Mr. Rickey understands the feelings of the intelligent Negro. The average white person refuses to put himself in the place of the Negro. In the words of Kipling:

The toad beneath the harrow knows
Exactly where each tooth prick goes,
The Butterfly beside the road
Can preach contentment to that toad.

John P. Smith.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

SAN FRANCISCO (AP)—Actress Kim Novak's lavender bed sheets were sold for $200 Wednesday night in an auction [for the benefit of] non-profit educational television station, KQED.

The blonde slept on the sheets at a San Francisco hotel on a recent visit.

Ernst of Jackson Square bought the sheets. The firm announced it will manufacture neckties from the material—to be auctioned again by KQED.

—Long Beach, Calif.
Press Telegram, June 5

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: M. R., Lakewood, Calif.

Robeson for President

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Paul Robeson should be cast for the Presidency of the United States.

It matters not that he will not win. But it matters very much as to what he will say to the American people. He would open their eyes and ears. And many people will begin to talk and think.

The progressive forces will make a great mistake by not taking advantage of this great figure — this powerful force — a true leader and personality.

Barnstorming the U.S. by Paul Robeson will clear the air of much confusion. It will set this country on the correct path towards peace, security and co-existence.

Henry Fries

The reasoner

NEW YORK, N. Y.

A "dirty" bomb kills most of the inhabitants of a city but many remain alive to suffer extremely from severe burns and injuries.

A "clean" bomb does a clean job. It kills all of the inhabitants of a city.

Therefore a "clean" bomb is more humane than a "dirty" one.

That is why we must support our government's great humanitarian efforts to develop a "clean" H-bomb in the tests now being held in the Pacific. We must not oppose them.

David Segal.

Jobs for teen-agers

OAKLAND, CALIF.

These 14- to 18-year-olds do not need more recreation facilities—they need jobs with pay-check attached. Then there would be no urge to go out and commit criminal acts to get money to go to a show.

On the one hand these boys have all their normal drives whipped to a frenzy by all the ingenious devices known to modern communication arts, while on the other hand there is no provision made for them to be able to satisfy these drives.

Giving these boys a chance to enjoy the soul-satisfying, pride-engendering opportunity to earn and spend their own money may be harder to arrange than to persuade some rich parasite to salve his conscience by donating to some "institution" but let's recognize the basic need for what it is. It could be arranged in a planned economy.

Name withheld.

What are we waiting for?

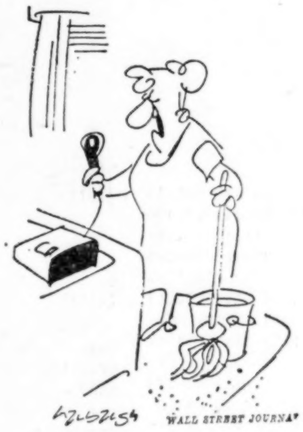
NEW YORK, N. Y.

The **Daily News** calls the N. J. Nike explosion "tragic, horrible, alarming," but is opposed to moving the bases because "tragedies such as this one are part of the price of self-defense."

Two years ago leading missile experts reported to Congress that the Nikes could be counted on as only 10% effective; they are short ranged, can't follow attacking supersonic planes and are not designed for rapid fire. Their usefulness against the new ICBM's is zero.

Are we waiting for an "impossible" accident of a missile with an atomic war-head and are we willing to pay with the lives of ten thousands the price of non-existing protection?

John H. Beck.



Wall Street Journal

"And stop throwin' your cigarette butts on the floor!"

From Helen Sobell

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Of course I'm renewing my sub and even in my family we feel we must find a few extra dollars to keep the GUARDIAN coming.

Many, many thanks for your concern and for the help you have given by reporting each new development in an understanding way. Morton says that he hopes soon to be able to forget Atlanta as he has, even now, almost forgotten Alcatraz.

The GUARDIAN has been working on the preparation of the story of Morton's homecoming since that day, so long ago, when it first broke the story of the terrible injustice done to Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and to Morton.

May we all read the homecoming story soon.

Helen Sobell

The good old days

CINCINNATI, OHIO

In 1893 the Manufacturers' and Employers' Assn. said:

"The Association can look with complacency upon its work during the last two years. One after another the unions have been taught a salutary lesson until out of the horde of unions only one or two are left of any strength. This Association has taken hold of the shipowner's struggle and it is only a question of time when the Sailors' Union will have gone the way of the rest. It is of most vital importance that this good work should go on. Trade unionism among workers is like tares in the field of wheat. The word and the act should be placed among the things prohibited by law."

Those advocating the right-to-work law today are not as brazen as in 1893. However, their aims are the same, and those supporting them are abetting the fight against one of the strongest pillars of American democracy.

Reuel Stanfield

Divergent socialists

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The sponsors who called for an independent socialist conference are to be commended for their initiative. I certainly wish them the best of luck and wish we had a similar conference coming here in California.

I have never quite understood how Republicans and Democrats can almost totally agree on social and economic issues and the progressive and divergent socialists continue to fight each other—rather than find areas of agreement. Here's hoping they get together in New York.

Alf Harem

How come?

EL CAJON, CALIF.

FBI Hoover has handed down the dictum that it was the "commoonists" who started all Nixon's troubles in Venezuela. How come, then, that he failed to warn Nixon and the Venezuelan Government?

Robert Karger.

HAMMARSKJOLD HEADS OBSERVERS

UN steps in as Lebanon fight shapes up as a new 'Korea'

AS MOUNTING civil conflict threatened to turn Lebanon into a second Korea, the UN Security Council on June 11 voted 10-0 in favor of a Swedish resolution to set up a UN observation group on the Lebanese side of the Syria-Lebanon border.

The debate lasted far into the night. Lebanon's Dr. Charles Malik and Iraq's Fadhil el-Jamali violently attacked "Nasserism" and accused the United Arab Republic of smuggling arms and men for the Lebanese opposition across the Syrian border. UAR's Omar Lutfi told the Council: "It is not we who commit aggression in the Middle East." He cited the Suez attack of 1956 to prove his point.

U.S. delegate Lodge departed from Washington's recent velvet-glove policy towards UAR President Nasser. He found Malik's presentation "impressive."

DANGEROUS GAME: Soviet delegate Sobolev noted that the Council had not endorsed the Lebanese accusations against the UAR, warned the U.S. that sending more jet fighters to Lebanon's President Camille Chamoun "to be used in fighting the Lebanese people" was "dangerous playing with fire [which] must be stopped." The Soviet Union abstained in the voting because neither Lebanon nor the UAR opposed the Swedish resolution.

Within 24 hours, UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold ordered an advance observation party of five foreign army officers into Lebanon from the Palestine armistice supervision organization. He set up a three-man committee—a Latin American, a Scandinavian and an Indian—to head the UN observation team in Lebanon, and himself flew to Beirut on June 17.

THE REAL JOB: The Chamoun government considered the UN resolution "encouraging but inadequate." Opposition leaders met at the home of former Premier Saeb Salaam and called on the UN observation team to see that there was "no infiltration of personnel or supply of arms or other materials originating from the U.S., Britain and France, in addition to Turkey, Iraq and Jordan." Salaam added that the primary purpose of the UN team "should be to investigate the political and military intervention by the U.S. and Britain and their satellites, Iraq and Turkey."

Meanwhile, the opposition seemed to be gaining in strength as Chamoun punished government employees and suspended four judges of a Moslem religious court for opposition to his regime. The court threatened to "strike" because of this action by a Christian President, raising the specter of a religious conflict which has been the nightmare of the nation. Chamoun's jet fighter planes also dropped napalm bombs on the opposition forces—an act Asians associate with imperialist atrocities.

THE SOUND OF GUNS AND THE FACES OF FEAR
Lebanese women huddle in Old Tripoli as firing goes on

FIRST-HAND REPORT: An on-the-spot observer wrote the GUARDIAN from Beirut:

"Since the people's revolution against the Chamoun government has been brought into the international arena through the UN, many here fear Lebanon may develop into a second Korea because of its strategic location and the oil pipelines that pass through it. The government is losing ground every hour. Four ministers have resigned from the Cabinet in protest against the government's policies.

"The most dangerous of the moves by the panicky government has been the open arming of the two para-military organizations, Al Kataib (Lebanese Phalanges) and Syrian Natl. Party (a fascist organization of terrorists). This worried even the U.S. Ambassador. Associated Press correspondent Wilton Wynn wrote in the Beirut **Daily Star** that the ambassador threatened to halt American arms shipments to Chamoun 'if the Lebanese government hands over these weapons to unofficial partisan bands.' The ambassador later denied the story.

POPULAR UPHEAVAL: "A bloody religious conflict has so far been averted by the unity of the opposition, which includes not only the Christian and Moslem religious leaders but also political leaders of the different faiths. Among the latter are such former Christian Cabinet members as Henri Phroun, Emile Khoury, Philip Takla, Dr. Elias Khouri and Fuad Amoun; and former Moslem Cabinet members Saeb Salaam, Abdullah Yafi, Hussein Ouweini, Rashid Karami, and Druze tribal representative and Socialist Progressive Party President Kamal Jumblat."

The composition of the Lebanese opposition and the background of its members clearly indicate that Lebanon is passing through a popular upheaval against the hated policies of an unrepresentative government. As such, events in Lebanon have wider application to neighboring pro-Western countries.

SUPPORT IS GREAT: In the **New Republic** (6/16), Elizabeth Monroe, former Middle East correspondent of the London **Economist** and a fellow of Oxford's St. Anne's College, said that "the pro-Western politicians now in power rigged the last election so heavily as to stifle all opposition." She noted that the April manifesto warning Chamoun against a second term was signed by "80 notable citizens, by no means all of them Moslem."

Miss Monroe said that the opposition was backed by "a wide range of local opinion, including liberals, Christians and anti-Communists." These people felt that "President Chamoun has leaned too far Westward and that the country ought to get back to the middle of the road or it will lose its Arab nature and its nationhood." She added: "Lebanon must be Arab or cannot survive."

She said there may be new "Lebanons" in Iraq and Jordan, where "the same impulses are latent [and] a minority government has similarly rigged a parliament in order to contain public opinion on, among other topics, how far to lean on the West."

A TALE OF A DISINTEGRATING EMPIRE

Cyprus, Africa and Macmillan's blinders

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

EVEN POLITICAL CYNICS here are astounded by the picture of the dream world of Harold Macmillan, as revealed in reports of his sessions with Eisenhower and Dulles. The amiable chatter about "welding together free world economies" is too familiar now to raise many eyebrows, although their absurdity (except insofar as a tiger's prey is welded to the tiger) increases as the crisis of capitalism sharpens antagonisms within the "free world."

During the month before the Mac-Ike huddle, Lebanon, Latin America and Algeria had shown how rapidly imperialism is losing control over events in key areas which it previouly dominated. Not even naked violence can any longer affect the smaller nations' determination to be masters in their own houses, save only to intensify it.

IKE AND MAC BAFFLED: Queen Elizabeth can distribute the usual orders and medals "of the British Empire" on her birthday, but the Empire is hurrying into history, mourned by few. The London **Times** reports that Ike and Mac "agree about everything but don't know quite what to do about it," and are "baffled by the immense complexity of things." The sum of the complexity, as far as the realities of future world power are concerned, is that opportunities for partnership between great and small nations are still there, but the time has already passed when the former can bluff the latter with figleaves of independence.

While Mac gave Ike lessons in the ancient British art of pretending unpleasant realities don't exist, chickens of imperialism's own hatching were coming home to roost in Cyprus and Africa.

In Cyprus, murderous "partition or death" riots by Turkish gangs against the predominantly Greek population compelled cancellation of the British Queen's birthday celebration, a 24-hour curfew being imposed on Nicosia, the capital. Turkish government responsibility for the outbreak was implied in a British appeal to Ankara to exercise its "restraining influence," but the basic responsibility of Britain's own "divide and rule" policies was clear.

The Colonial Office had favored Turks for administrative posts and built up a largely Turkish police force, and had itself put on the agenda the possible partition of the island—"a despairing solution that could not be enforced and would leave Cyprus still worse off than before" (**Manchester Guardian,** 6/10). Now it could no longer rely on its own policemen, and a paratroop battalion had to be flown in to support the 10,000 British troops already "maintaining order." With popular sentiment at fever pitch in both Greece and Turkey, the whole NATO fabric in the Mediterranean was blowing away.

TRANSPARENT FIGLEAF: In Africa, figleaves of "democracy" woven by British Tories were failing dismally to conceal the reality—a determination to perpetuate white supremacy which could only lead to more bloodshed and eventual calamity. "Elections" in S. Rhodesia, dominant member of the Central African Federation which the Africans reject, resulted in annihilation of the party of "ultra-liberal" (as Rhodesian whites label him) ex-Prime Minister Garfield Todd.

In a country whose 2,500,000 Africans outnumber whites more than ten times and average less than 1/30 of the whites' income, Todd's "ultra-liberalism" had consisted of extending the franchise to a possible total of 6-9,000 Africans; in fact 1,700 registered to vote. Even this was too much for the British settlers, who gave all the Assembly seats to two unashamedly white supremacist parties.

The growing unrest in Central Africa seemed likely to erupt first in Nyasaland (2,500,000 Africans, 8,000 whites), whose National Congress, fearing total subjection to "white" Rhodesia, has launched an all-out fight against enforced inclusion in the Federation. Last month three Nyasaland Congress spokesmen came to London to put their case before the public and the Colonial Office Their leader is dynamic Nyasalander Dr. Hastings K. Banda, who formerly practiced medicine in London and in Ghana and is now following iin Nkrumah's footsteps. (Like Nkrumah, he worked his way through colloge in the U.S.).

FIRM POSITION: Banda told a press conference here that "not one African in Nyasaland" will accept their present situation, indefinitely prolonged on the ground that they are "not ready" for self-government Their government is "purely of and by British civil servants" without even token African representation; their chiefs are ordered not to attend Congress meetings, and Congress leaders are barred from travel within the Federation. Said Banda firmly and confidently: "We have no intention of driving the Europeans out, but Nyasaland is our home and our only home. They are welcome as citizens but not as bosses."

HONORABLE MAC: Meanwhile fines of $210 each—a very large sum for them—were imposed in Nairobi upon seven Kenya leaders for describing fellow-Africans who co-operate with the white-supremacy constitution as "stooges, quislings, black Europeans and traitors." Africans surrounded five of them after the trial and escorted them in triumphant procession with banner slogans: "Eight million Africans on trial," "To hell with the constitution," "Down with British imperialists."

In Washington, Macmillan told the press he was "very close together" with Dulles, who posed with him for a jolly grinning photograph; and that the British attack on Suez was "sound, honorable and justified." These are positions for which, in view of prevailing attitudes in the disappearing Empire and the "colonial world" generally, there is thought by realists here to be little future.

DENIAL OF CITIZENSHIP—DENIAL OF LIFE

This is Dawson, Ga.—a story of legal murder and terror

By Louis E. Burnham

IF YOU CLAIM YOUR RIGHTS, YOU'RE 'CRAZY'

In Dawson, Ga., Police Chief Lee is "hot" against all Negroes, but especially "the ones who go crazy," like trying to vote. When Clennon King (above) tried to register at the all-white University of Mississippi, he was carried away to a mental hospital and now awaits a psychiatric examination.

LAST APRIL 7, 25 Negroes tried to register as voters in Dawson, seat of Terrell County, deep in the cotton lands of South Georgia. Many of them were school teachers; not one succeeded.

A few weeks earlier, Gov. Marvin Griffin had signed into law a bill candidly aimed at cutting down Negro registration. Applicants were required to read, write and interpret any paragraph from the Georgia state constitution or to answer correctly 20 of 30 oral questions to be asked by local registrars.

One teacher had been trying to register for two years. He was turned down, the registrar said, because "you slurred the word 'original.'" Later the teacher was scolded by a school official and fired for "getting too big."

Among questions on the list of 30 were: What is the definition of a felony in Georgia? How may a new state be admitted to the Union? What are the names of the Federal district judges of Georgia? What are the names of the members of the board of education in your county?

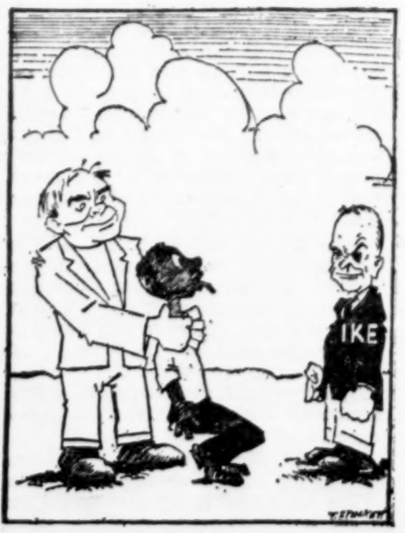
THE DIFFERENCE: The Negroes were, of course, disappointed. They would not be able to vote in the Sept. 10 Georgia primary elections. But all was not lost; they still had life and hope; they could try again.

The matter might have rested there, with the attempt and the refusal unknown and unheralded outside of Dawson. After all, Negroes are daily denied their most elementary citizenship rights in hundreds of Southern rural counties and no agency of government lifts a voice or a finger in protest.

But Dawson was different. Two weeks after the registration incident, official trickery and intimidation gave way to stark terror. Where officials had only denied citizenship they now took life, itself. A few Negroes made their way across the county line for an interview with Robert E. Lee Baker, a reporter for the influential Washington **Post**, and the Dawson story was on the nation's conscience and before the President's eyes.

THE FEAR: The extent of the terror was indicated by the conditions under which the little group met the reporter. He related: "They talked softly, earnestly behind tightly drawn shades. They froze at outside sounds. They exacted a promise they would not be identified. They kept their number small because they feared police informers among their own race. They watched the clock and left the haven singly and at intervals so they wouldn't be out after an 11 p.m. 'curfew.' They traveled predetermined and separate routes to their homes."

The story the Negroes told made clear the reasons for these precautions. On April 30 James Brazier came upon policemen arresting his father, Odell Brazier, on a charge of drunken driving. He protested to the cops and then drove his father's car home. Later the cops came to young Brazier's house to arrest him. They slugged him over the head and in the face with the butt of a gun, slammed the car door on his foot, drove him to jail and threw him in a cell.



Stockett in Afro-American

No time for patience when you're being choked to death.

Next day father and son were brought to court. Young Brazier had to be dragged before the judge; he was senseless, unable to speak or support himself. The judge fined the father and ordered the son to return for trial in a week. James Brazier never got back to the courtroom. His family rushed him to the Columbus, Ga., Medical Center for brain surgery. On April 25 he died.

HOT POLICE CHIEF: Dawson Chief of Police Howard L. Lee told the **Post** reporter that he "got hot" when a few white people complained about the treatment of Brazier. Evidently he stayed "hot" a long time, for there were other killings to follow—and the end is not in sight.

On May 23, W. B. Cherry, one of the cops who had beaten Brazier, shot Tobe Latimer, a 48-year-old Negro electrician, in the buttocks. This time his smoking pistol was called into action because Latimer allegedly dropped a bottle of whisky in a juke joint after Cherry warned him not to.

Cherry's next adventure was to be more serious—in fact, fatal for his Negro victim. Willie Countryman, a driver for the Royal Crown bottling company, was in his home at 1:15 a.m. Sunday, May 25. Cherry and another cop went to the house to investigate "whooping and hollering" they had been told was going on in the neighborhood. Countryman came to his porch as the cops approached. Cherry asked no questions, made no investigation. His gun barked and Countryman fell, a bullet lodged in his body just above the belt buckle.

MORE AGGRAVATION: When a coroner's jury cleared Cherry on the ground that he acted in self-defense, FBI men began an investigation in Dawson. Chief Lee resented the intrusion and felt that "coming down here all the time is a waste of taxpayers' money." He said: "It aggravates me worse because the FBI starts talking to niggers and then the niggers get to thinking they're important and it stirs them up."

"You know, Cap'," he told the reporter, "there's nothing like fear to keep niggers in line. I'm talking about outlaw niggers. And we always tell them there are four roads leading out of Dawson in all directions and they are free to go any time they don't like it here."

THE "CRAZY" ONES: For those who don't care to take Lee's advice there remains the painful, vital question of determining each day what word or act might place them outside "the law" in Dawson. Lee noted that not all Negroes pose problems for him, but only "the chronic cases—the ones who go crazy, I call it." And what makes them crazy? The chief oblingingly explained:

"I've noticed things have gotten worse since television. They all got television sets up there and hear all the news over NBC and CBS, telling what the Supreme Court has done and what the Federal courts say and all about civil rights, and they begin thinking. We've had trouble. We're going to have more of it."

The Negroes reported that the recent killings were only the climax of a campaign of terror that has prevailed for the past few years. An unofficial curfew forces Negroes into their homes at 11 o'clock each night. One violator is said to have had chunks of flesh ripped out of his back. Three Negroes were arrested for allegedly swearing in front of a white woman. When the mother of a 21-year-old young man went to the jail to complain about his arrest, she was thrown into jail too.

A MAJORITY: During the last two years the Negro vote in Terrell County, inconsequential at the start, has been more than halved. Out of 3,591 voters in 1956 only 105 were Negroes. Today a mere 45 Negroes are eligible to vote. Negroes account for 67% of the 12,500 population of Terrell County. In Dawson, they are 55% of 4,500 residents.

Among Georgia's 159 counties there are 45 others which have majority Negro populations. Relying on the county unit electoral system, these and other rural counties dominate the state legislature, largely determine the choice of state officials and U.S. Senators, provide "legal" sanction for statewide Klu Kluxery, and maintain Georgia in the ranks of the hold-out sanctuaries of segregation.

The county unit system assigns six votes to each of the eight most populous counties, four to each of the 30 next most populous and two to each of the remaining 121 counties. The candidate receiving a plurality of votes in a county receives all the unit votes. Thus, Terrell County, whose population is but 1/48th as big as that of Fulton County (Atlanta), nevertheless has one-third Fulton's influence—two votes against six—when it comes to electing state officials.

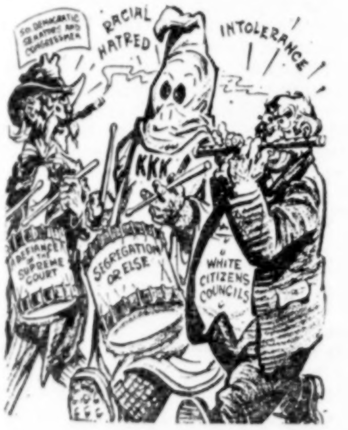
THE CANDIDATES: Under these circumstances it is as difficult to find pro-integration candidates in the Peach State as it would be to locate a needle in a bale of Georgia cotton. Two men have announced their candidacies for the governorship in the Sept. 10 Democratic primaries. One of them, Lt. Gov. Ernest Vandiver, is described as a liberal and has the support of ex-Governor Ellis Arnall and Atlanta's daily newspapers, the **Journal** and the **Constitution.** The other, Rev. William T. Bodenhamer, a member of the State Assembly from Ty Ty, is among the state's more rabid white supremacists and served until recently as secretary of the States' Rights Council.

Both candidates have declared their support for segregation and the county unit system. Other candidates are likely to announce before the June 21 filing deadline, but the prospect is remote that any will defend the constitutional rights of the Negro people of Dawson and throughout Georgia.

That's why Negroes turn with hope-filled eyes and heavy hearts to "their" government in Washington. The little clandestine committee from Dawson told the reporter they intended to send to the Civil Rights Commission affidavits about the denial of their rights to vote. Under the conditions existing in Dawson, that takes a lot of guts.

That the Government would be short its share seemed indicated when Civil Rights Commission director Gordon M. Tiffany announced that, though he had the newspaper account of brutality before him, the commission "will not determine an investigation until complaints are filed."

UP TO IKE: Filed by whom? the N.Y. **Post** wanted to know. It answered: "The murdered Negroes, no doubt."



Daily Mirror

The Spirit of '58

Meanwhile, officials of the Civil Rights division of the Justice Dept. were said to be studying what action they might take. The N.Y. **Times** noted, however, that "the Justice Department could conceivably, for fear of adverse consequences, take no action even if it decided that the charges were true."

But the problem lies beyond the Justice Dept. It lies before the President who recently advised Negroes to be patient in their quest for integration. Mr. Eisenhower will err greatly if he believes the solution to the problems posed in Dawson hinge on whether Negroes exercise a little more or a little less patience. The question there is whether Negroes are to be left entirely alone, in the face of brutish rural cops, to show that they are not defenseless dogs, but men and citizens.

For the sake of the nation, not only the Negroes, the President for once ought to come up with the right answer.

PAULING DECODES THE FIGURES

Percentage points or people? The argument on fall-out

By Elmer Bendiner

WHILE CALIFORNIA was being doused in a heavily radioactive rain last May the San Francisco **Chronicle** asked five scientists a number of questions on the menace of fall-out. The paper turned up almost unanimous agreement on the facts but widely different interpretations. Four of the scientists calculated the danger in percentage points and thought the risk was slight. One thought in terms of human lives and concluded that the tests had to be stopped.

The key question was whether radiation from fall-out of nuclear test explosions was "negligible" compared with the normal background radiation from rocks and vegetables which the world has always known. Three scientists said: "Yes"; "Emphatically, yes"; "Yes, indeed." A fourth said "yes" and pointed out that fall-out had added at most only 3% of the normal background radiation.

Nobel prize winner Linus Pauling had no quarrel with the statistics but said: "I do not like the use of the word 'negligible.' The parents of a single defective child caused by fall-out radiation would not say that this is a negligible matter."

HUMAN PERCENTAGES: The controversy of percentages versus human lives lies at the base of argument between the official scientists who take a relaxed view of the statistical damage and the more than 2,000 others who have signed petitions, issued statements or initiated law suits against continuing the tests.

For example, the Atomic Energy Commission admits that the radiation from one year's testing at the present rate would cause an increase in the mutation rate of between .2% and .1%. The statisticians regard that as trifling but, translated into human terms, it may mean that one year of testing can result in 3,000 to 15,000 seriously defective children within a period of several generations. To the statistician even that is a minute number compared to the total of defective children born in the world in any year. But, says Pauling, it adds up to possibly 15,000 human tragedies, multiplied by each year of testing. The statisticians seem to argue that in the face of the annual death toll of accidents, disease and old age, a few thousand nuclear casualties can be no great matter.

AEC DEBUNKED: AEC scientists have been coming up with tranquilizing assurances based on badly juggled arithmetic. In the June 14 issue of **The Nation** Pauling debunks a series of AEC statements. Here are examples:

- AEC Commissioner Dr. Willard F. Libby in 1955 said that the fall-out dosage rate as of Jan. 1 of that year could be increased 15,000 times "without hazard" to health. Pauling said that after detonation of a small fission bomb in Nevada on March 1, 1955, cities in Utah, Nevada and in the Troy-Albany region of New York reported a fall-out rate of .1 roentgen a day. If multiplied by 15,000 it would have meant a daily dosage of 1,500 roentgens. This would have meant death for most people so exposed after a few days of acute radiation sickness.

- Dr. Libby and Dr. Edward Teller have said that the wearing of wristwatches with radium dials subjects people to ten times the radiation produced by fall-out from tests. They estimate that wrist watches affect the average person with .030 roentgens a year while fall-out adds only .003 roentgens a year. Pauling shows that the figures are apparently based on the notion that every one in the world wears radium-dialed wrist watches 24 hours a day and carries the watch no more than one foot from the gonads. After correcting the figures to allow for the fact that only 3% of the world's population carries radium-dialed wrist watches for a part of each day, Pauling concludes that Teller exaggerated the dangers of the wrist watch 500 times in order to belittle the fall-out.

- To illustrate an article by Teller, **Life** magazine last Feb. 10 ran a picture of five Air Force officers standing without shelter directly beneath a nuclear bomb exploding 19,000 feet above them. It was meant to prove that the U.S. bombs are clean. Pauling points out that the bomb was as "dirty" as most but probably less than one kiloton in strength, while U.S. arsenal is stacked with bombs 10,000 or 20,000 times as powerful. If even a small bomb had been exploded at 1,900 feet instead of 19,000 (the Hiroshima bomb was exploded at 2,200 feet) the radiation in the immediate area would have been multiplied 100 times and the five officers might have been killed.

- Pauling also knocks down the AEC's favorite argument that people in Tibet, who for years have experienced much more cosmic radiation than people at lower altitudes, show no genetic differences. The fact is, said Pauling, that no genetic differences have been shown among Tibetans because nobody has looked for any. Medical statistics on Tibet are almost non-existent.

THE BOGEYMAN: The die-hard test advocates last week produced their answer to the anti-test petition of 2,000 scientists submitted by Dr. Pauling. Signed by 30 persons, it called the pleas for test suspension "bemused and confused." Most prominent among the signers were Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College; Leo M. Cherne, executive director of the Research Institute of America; Arthur McDowell of the Council Against Communist Aggression; Marx Lewis of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers, and Brig. Gen. Donald Adams, former president of the Reserve Officers Assn.

OUR
MILK
HAS
POISON

NO HOMOGENIZED FALL-OUT
Three little peacemakers picket the White House

Theirs seemed to be a losing cause as preliminary talks were scheduled to open in Geneva looking toward a negotiated international suspension. In retreat the test advocates threw up a bogeyman. The **U.S. News and World Report** of May 30 carried on its cover the scare-head: "NEW WORRY FOR THE WORLD? IF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE BANNED, SOMETHING WORSE IN THEIR PLACE?"

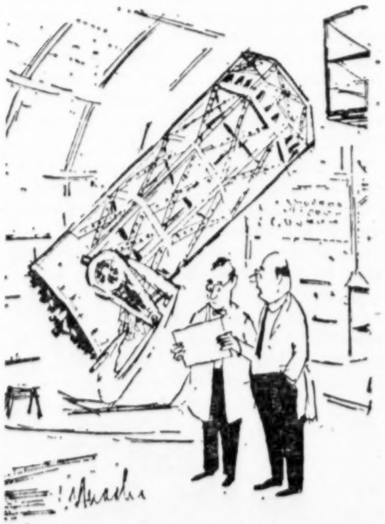
The magazine suggested that if public opinion forces the dismantling of nuclear stockpiles, there are at hand:

- Disease agents which can be sprayed or slipped into water and kill people "en masse."
- Psycho-chemicals which can cause whole armies or civilian populations to behave irrationally and lose their will to resist.
- Biological agents that can destroy a nation's food supply.
- Nerve gas that comes in the form of fog and kills instantly.
- Radioactive dust that can be sprayed on a population with the same immediate and congenital damage as intensive fall-out.
- An assortment of other lethal gases and perhaps ultimately an all-purpose "death ray."

THE SECOND STEP: The scare seemed ineffective because ban-the-bomb advocates could point out that these weapons seldom inflict casualties in their testing and, more important, once world opinion succeeded in banning the bomb, it would be a comparatively short step to outlaw the chemical arsenal.

Military scientists fought doggedly for what they conceived to be the proper business of science: the building of deadlier weapons. At the Natl. Missile Industry Conference in Washington on June 4, a tough line was laid down by Dr. Walter V. Dornberger, who organized Hitler's program of V-2 missiles and is now Defense Dept. adviser as well as technical assistant to the Bell Aircraft Corp. He said he had no use for stunts like navigating to the moon. Space weapons were the thing. The U.S. ought to follow the Nazi model in which ideas came from the military and industry filled the bill. He said:

"Gentlemen, I didn't come to this country to lose the third world war—I lost two."



Wall Street Journal

"Study of the cepheid variables in the system indicate its distance from us to be twenty million light years, give or take a million light years"

McBURNEY Y—JUNE 20

YMCA sets first meeting on bomb tests in N. Y.

NORMAN THOMAS will address the first open discussion meeting to be sponsored by a YMCA on atomic bomb testing and the effects of radioactive fall-out, at 8 p.m., Friday, June 20, in the auditorium of the McBurney YMCA, 215 W. 23rd St., Manhattan.

Other speakers will be Dr. Harry Lustig, physicist, of City College, and Howard Radest, head of the Bergen Ethical Society in New Jersey. An animated color film which won a Golden Reel Award in 1957 will be shown to demonstrate the effect of fall-out on an average town. A question and answer period will follow the speeches.

The meeting is sponsored jointly by the McBurney Youth Dept. and the Chelsea YMCA Parents Assn. Local professional, business, and civic groups have been invited to participate, as have all the churches, synagogues, and parent-teacher organizations in the area. Admission is free.

NEW SKIPPER SAYS: 'THEY'LL HAVE TO SINK ME'

Phoenix rises in Golden Rule's place

WHILE THE GOLDEN RULE was still tied up at Honolulu, another sailing vessel, the 50-foot ketch Phoenix of Hiroshima, last week was at sea bound from Hawaii for Japan on a course that might take it into the danger zone where the U. S. is conducting its nuclear tests.

Phoenix skipper Earle L. Reynolds is a pacifist and a tough one. He said: "If the U.S. government wants to stop me, they'll have to sink me. I will regard any interference with my vessel on the high seas as an act of piracy."

With Reynolds, a 46-year-old anthropologist formerly of Antioch College, is his wife, their 17-year-old daughter and 14-year-old son; also a 35-year-old Japanese crewman bound home to Hiroshima. There is no connection between the Phoenix and the frustrated expedition of the Golden Rule beyond a mutual sympathy. The four original crew members of the Golden Rule are now serving 60-day jail sentences in the Honolulu jail. **Their charts and provisions have been turned** over to the Phoenix expedition.

THE DARE: The U.S. government made no effort to stop the Phoenix beyond telling Reynolds that the Marshall Islands, first stop on their trip from Hawaii, was off-limits, although actually outside the 390,000-square-mile area staked off by the Atomic Energy Commission. Unlike the Golden Rule, the Phoenix did not give Eniwetok as its destination and was therefore not subject to a Federal injunction. Moreover, the presence of a Japanese national aboard, ungoverned by AEC restrictions, presented additional legal problems.

The Phoenix was expected to reach the Marshall Islands by late July. Federal officials in Hawaii were quoted as saying that by that time the tests would be concluded. Washington officials, however, have indicated that the tests would run through August. The Phoenix may find itself in the test waters before then and dare the authorities to test their bombs at the risk of killing an American family as well as another **Japanese seaman.**

VISIT CLIMAXES NATIONAL TOUR

Little Rock Nine greeted like heroes in New York

ON JUNE 15 an NAACP membership rally at Brooklyn's Concord Baptist Church brought to a dramatic climax the four-day New York visit of the nine most celebrated high school students in the country.

They wore their fame well—the Little Rock Nine. Each seemed to possess a nice mixture of self-assurance and modesty. They paid thoughtful attention to the speakers, smiled at the puniest of puns and beamed affection at Mrs. Daisy Bates, their heroic mentor throughout their first trying year of integrated education. When their time came to speak, they were brief and to the point.

Eight of the children had been brought to New York by Local 6, Hotel & Club Employes Union, AFL-CIO, to receive the union's Better Race Relations Award along with Minnijean Brown, their expelled classmate who had finished out the term as a scholarship student at the New Lincoln School in New York. They had met the mayor at City Hall, had a session with the press and crammed into their brief stay as many of the usual tourists' attractions as would fit. Backstage, after a performance of the musical hit, "Jamaica," Lena Horne had told them, "You're the **most!**"

LITTLE ROCK AND CARACAS: After this heady treatment, they sat in quiet dignity on the platform in Concord's basement auditorium as Rev. Gardner C. Taylor, N.Y. Board of Education member and first Negro president of the N.Y. Protestant Council, declared: "Mark my word, there's some connection—after all the explanations have been made—between nine little Negro children being spat upon in Little Rock and the vice president being spat upon in Lima and Caracas." The audience of 2,000 roared approval.

The struggle, he said, was not for nine children alone, or even for 900 to go to integrated schools unmolested in Little Rock: it was a struggle for "purging this country of a disease that will prove fatal if it is not moved out of the body politic."

Mrs. Bates described the ebb and flow of the battle in Arkansas: the people who went around town offering $10,000 to anyone who could get the Negro children out of Central High; the 18 cases in Arkansas cities in which the NAACP is battling for its right to function; the campaign against the **State Press,** weekly paper published by herself and her husband, which has resulted in a drop of circulation from 20,000 to 7,500. But through it all, she said, they never wavered. She thanked the audience for their help.

THE STUDENTS SPEAK: The children were introduced by Ted Poston of the N.Y. **Post.** Their remarks ranged from Elizabeth Eckford's one-sentence expression of thanks to the emotion-packed remarks of the aspiring actress, Melba Patillo.

What would happen when school reopens in September? Carlotta Wells summed up the determination of the Nine: "We can't pledge to do so unafraid, but we do say we will continue the struggle we have begun."

The youth were to return to Little Rock the next day. They would leave again to share the Spingarn Award with Mrs. Bates at the NAACP annual convention in Cleveland in July.

TWO PIONEERS TALK THINGS OVER

Minnijean Brown, 15, of Little Rock Central High, chats with Jackie Robinson who cracked jimcrow in baseball

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THE GENERATION OF YOUNG FOGEYS

Survey finds little learning but maximum conformity

By Elmer Bendiner

DESPITE THE LITERARY splash of the "beat" and the "angry" young men, the current fear among educators is that the upcoming generation is likely to be known as the adjustable young fogeys, seeking mainly to be a carbon copy of the next fellow and dwell forever in a good, safe rut.

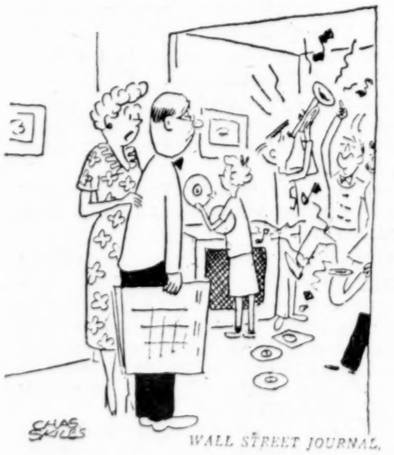
H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radler of Purdue University find the same passion for conformity among the candy-store crowd waiting for trouble as in the college-bound middle or upper class teenager. Their findings lead them to conclude that "the future of democracy is not promising" unless some changes are made.

Remmers, a professor of psychology and education, has been polling teenagers for 17 years as part of the job of the Purdue Opinion Panel. He has used samples of 3,000 ten-agers for each poll, well distributed to include all sections of the country, all high school grades, and all economic brackets. Radler is an editor and writer on scientific subjects. The two sum up their studies in the June issue of **Scientific American.**

HONOR AND OBEY: A majority of the high school students polled approved some form of censorship of books, magazines, TV, radio and the movies; thought that the FBI and the police should be allowed to tap wires at will. More than one-third said that the government should deny freedom of speech to some people; 58% said police or FBI may be justified in using the "third degree."

Thirty-seven per cent said that some groups should not be allowed to call a strike; 25% thought that even peaceful meetings should not be allowed when called by certain groups.

Almost half thought that "a large mass" of people are incapable of knowing what is or is not good for them. More than half thought that democracy depends on "free business enterprise" but 22% said that "whatever serves the interests of the government is generally "right"; three-quarters said that the most important virtues children can learn is "obedience and respect for authority."



Wall Street Journal

"Go on in and read your paper, you won't disturb them."

WITHOUT THOUGHT: The pollsters are not consoled by the possibility that some of the answers may be unthinking rather than a considered acceptance of doctrine that has been pounded into them. They write: "The road to totalitarianism is the same length whether we walk down it consciously or merely drift into it. Unthinking conformity provides a setting which makes it possible for a demagogue to lead a nation into slavery."

More than 75% of the students agreed that the communists and communist-dominated groups represent the greatest threat to democracy and yet they also unknowingly endorsed an orthodox Marxist interpretation of history. A question posed this statement: "Most history is the story of the fight for power between different classes; master and slave, landowner and peasant, management and labor.' Without a label on it the kids were unaware of its significance; 58% therefore agreed with it.

The schools apparently were turning out students with a profound mistrust of scientists and an appalling ignorance of science. For 40% of the high-school students polled, the earth is the center of the universe and it is untrue that man evolved from lower forms of animal life. The picture of a scientist held by the majority showed a man, "more than a little bit odd," and probably a radical, who "doesn't have time to enjoy life" and is willing to sacrifice the welfare of others to further his own interest.

FOLLOW THE CROWD: The "mad scientist" of comic books and movies had clearly made an impression. So, too, had the ads which seek to persuade people to buy the most popular brand and to follow the crowd to the chosen store or movie.

When the teen-agers were asked to pick the problem or desire uppermost in their minds more than half said they most wanted people to like them more. Runners-up among youth's pressing problems were stage fright that afflicts them before a group, and their weight.

It might be argued that in any era teen-agers have a natural need for approval of the boys or girls in their group. The boy who runs with a gang, even when the gang runs into trouble, does so, in the main, because he needs approval, admiration, a "rep" as they say in the candy-store. That the group, itself, may be in rebellion of a misguided sort does not alter the fact that within the gang there is a conformity imposed on the members.

What is unusual and disquieting in the present findings is that the conformity is not the solidarity of rebels but the dull compliance with the prevailing atmosphere, the horror of the "odd," the avoidance of all adventure that is not vicarious.

COMPLEX CAUSES: It would be difficult to pin the blame on any one set of factors. Certainly Madison Avenue, TV, the movies promote a standardization of taste. The educator who holds that the purpose of education is to produce the "well-adjusted" individual, the psychiatrist who deadens all troublesome sensitivity to life, the legislative war on the dissenter—all have a hand in the molding of the young fogey.

The prevailing scorn of the egg-head has been taken up by the teen-ager. Dr. James B. Conant, president emeritus of Harvard, who is making his own survey of high schools under a $350,000 Carnegie grant, found that less than half of the brightest students in high school elected to take the tough courses, preferring the adjustment subjects that require no homework. Dr Conant expressed shock that the parents apparently approve this choice as being the only smart thing to do.

The gloomy surveys of cautious youth come perhaps a generation too late. Too many parents of teen-agers are in what Patrick D. Hazard of the University of Pennsylvania calls a carefully fostered "kind of perennial adolescence" in which conformity is almost a sign of patriotism. If the current surveys are accurate then the kids cannot be charged with failure to learn but with learning the lessons of their elders too well.

Daily Mirror

THE MEN, THE MONEY AND THE STAKES

The facts on the plot that paved the way for De Gaulle

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

IN THE DAYS that followed May 13, the first people to sign their names to the Algiers Public Safety Committee were all members of two organizations practically unknown by the general public: UFNA, in Algiers, and USRAF, in Paris. Neither of these organizations had courted publicity, and neither had ever been disturbed by the government. When Prime Minister Pierre Pflimlin dissolved all Fascist groups in France after May 13, USRAF was not even on the list.

USRAF ("Union pour le Salut et le Renouveau de l'Algérie Francaise") and UFNA ("Union Francaise Nord-Africaine") were the backbone of a plot that carefully prepared the May 13 insurrection.

The Algiers insurrection was not a spontaneous improvisation that pushed over the Fourth Republic by surprise. If de Gaulle could take power legally in the presence of a strongly anti-Gaullist House, with half a million Communists, liberals and trade unionists turning out in the Paris streets for the Defense of the Republic only four days earlier, the fault lies not only with some chronic illnesses of the Fourth Republic: An obtuse "Rather de Gaulle than a Popular Front" anti-communism; the contempt-for basic democratic rules; the wilful weakening of democratic institutions; the fear or self-interest of certain people in high places—these weighed heavily.

THE CONSPIRACY: There was also a plot. It had laid the military and political groundwork and accumulated the necessary power behind its action. All is surely not known about the scheme at this point. Here, according to data published by **Humanite, Express, Le Monde** and other papers, are some of its elements.

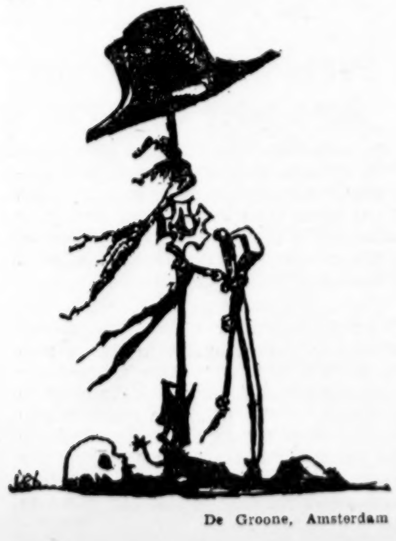
USRAF, set up in Paris in March, 1956, and UFNA, founded in Algiers early in 1955, had at their head some determined people.

What does a plot against the Republic need most to make it efficient? It needs reliable links with political figures in government and parliament. It needs big money. And it needs an army—better still **the** Army.

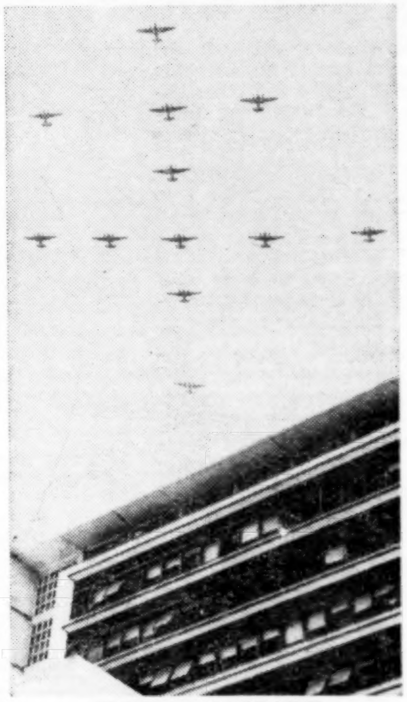
USRAF supplied the first two. Both USRAF and UFNA worked on the last. Last month, all the requirements seemed filled to make their undertaking a success.

USRAF was essentially the baby of Gaullist Deputy Jacques Soustelle. It had for god-fathers such respectable right-wing House leaders as MRP Georges Bidault, dissident Radical and ex-Nazi collaborator Andre Morice, and Independent Bernard Lafay.

SHADY CHARACTERS: For the "real" work, though, USRAF needed less prominent men with more "experience." In and out of USRAF offices went assorted fascists with more or less shady records; an ex-intelligence and counter-intelligence colonel of the Vichy government; and some more colorful personalities, such as Antoine Mellero, ex-police commissioner in Morocco, implicated in the attempted killing of Pierre Mendès-France during his Moroccan trip in 1954; and the actual killing of Jacques Lemaigre-Dubreuil, French newspaper magnate in Morocco, in 1955.



De Groone, Amsterdam



CROSS OF LORRAINE
De Gaulle's symbol over Algiers

For its secret armed organization all over France, estimated at 10,000, USRAF drew members from the war-time French intelligence service and from the "service d'ordre" of the now extinct but one-time powerful Gaullist Party (RPF)—a "service d'ordre" which included gunmen from the Foreign Legion as well as Pétain's militia.

USRAF's slogan, "Algeria is French," was seen by some of its members as also including the reconquest of Tunisia.

So much for USRAF's political ties and collaborators.

THE BIG MONEY: Its prime financial source became Algiers the day Soustelle decided to accept as strange a bedfellow as Alain de Sèrigny, director of Algiers' biggest daily, **Echo d'Alger.** De Sérigny, also a big land-owner and a director of important public works companies, was a notorious Pètanist who had never printed de Gaulle's name in his paper without abuse. But de Sérigny not only wielded tremendous influence in Algeria, through and beyond his newspaper. He also had at his disposal huge funds from Algerian Farmers and the Algerian Manufacturers Union. Members of these unions paid private monthly "taxes" in defense of "L'Algérie Francaise." De Sérigny turned over a large part of them to Soustelle's USRAF and thus became a central figure in the future plot.

In Algeria, meanwhile, UFNA, made up of relatively little known Algerian colonials, had realized that its prime purpose—absolute opposition to Paris' criminally "liberal" Algerian politics—could not be accomplished without Army support. The contact was quickly made, and UFNA set up army-directed para-military and "counter-terrorist" groups.

At this point, a decision taken by Resident Minister Robert Lacoste came in handy. In January, 1957, on the eve of an FLN insurrectional strike, Lacoste delegated police as well as "special" powers to the Army. This not only made the Army omnipotent and accumulated exorbitant powers in the hands of colonels, but it also offered the Algiers ultras an unhoped-for opportunity.

A certain Col. Godard—today an important figure in the Algiers Public Safety Committee was charged at the time with the destruction of terrorist networks in Algiers. Godard set up two parallel organizations: The Urban Protection Group, staffed by Europeans; and a Surveillance Group, made up of Moslems, that controlled the Casbah down to the last block.

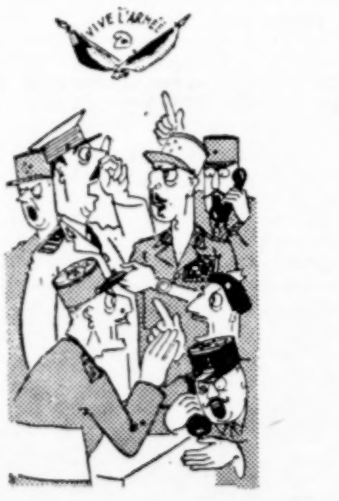
ARMED AND READY: This second organization has been instrumental, according to Godard himself, in creating a strong Moslem participation in the recent "fraternization" shows on the Algiers forum.

As for the Urban Protection Group whose members were authorized to carry arms at all times, it attracted all ultra elements in Algeria. By May of this year, the Protection Groups numbered 13,000 men ready for action.

The beginning of the Urban Protection Groups coincides with the first generals' plot of January, 1957, following which General Jacques Faure was removed from Algiers. It also coincides with the attempted killing of General Raoul Salan—considered too soft by the ultras—which took the life of one of Salan's assistants.

The murder attempt on Salan was not the only thing that should have, and did, interest the judicial powers. A whole series of incidents occurred throughout 1957 and early in 1958, not entirely unconnected with UFNA:

- Lacoste, annoyed by a series of menacing leaflets, made a personal inquiry. It led straight to a villa in the Algiers suburbs equipped with general staff maps, a torture room, printing machines and loudspeakers: all that was needed for a coup d'etat.
- In June, a notorious ex-Pétainist plotter who was also an UFNA contact man was arrested in Paris, quite by accident.



Lancaster in Daily Express, London
"You know how it is with those Paris politicians, mon general—nothing but talk, talk, talk!"

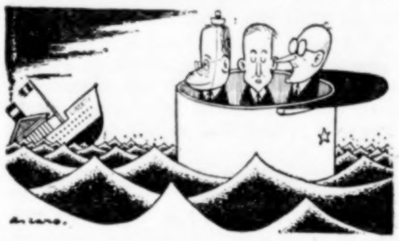
- In January, 1958, a UFNA man, crossing the Franco-Belgian border with suspicious papers and booklets in his car, was arrested.

HIGH-PLACED FRIENDS: All the suspects, including those implicated in the anti-Salan scheme, were quickly released and proceedings against them dropped. UFNA as well as USRAF had friends in very high places in Paris. Gaullist Defense Minister Chaban-Delmas happened to be one of them.

The booklets found in the liaison man's car bore a heart and a cross on their covers and were titled: "Counter-Revolution, Strategy and Tactics." In November, 1957, Gen. Jacques Massu told a correspondent of the Catholic daily **La Croix** that this book was his favorite reading. According to the correspondent, the book, "widely distributed in Algerian military circles . . . advocates the army's taking over power in Algeria, and, following the Spanish example of 1936, its marching upon France to install a fascist regime there.

The real break for the plotters came with the fall of the Gaillard government in mid-April, and the long vacancy of power that followed it.

At that time, USRAF began to develop a feverish activity. There was no end of political "personalities" coming into Algeria on official "missions" and visiting the most Army units possible. To the officers they contacted, they gave to understand that in Paris some people were determined to do something about the Algerian situation; the Army better get ready too.



Liberation, Paris
Skippers Pinay, Pflimlin, and Mollet, torpedo survivors.

THE BIG DAY: Defense Minister Jacques Chaban-Delmas had already dispatched to Algiers one of his assistants, Léon Delbecque, one of the organizers of the Public Safety Committees. On the eve of the uprising, May 11, Chaban-Delmas, in the form of a routine instruction, ordered an elite paratroop regiment to leave the Tunisian border and head toward Algiers.

Resident Minister Lacoste, on his part, hoping a few street demonstrations would keep him in his job in Algeria, had given assurances that the police would not interfere.

All was set for the big day.

Something seems to have gone wrong with the timing all the same. The new Pflimlin government was voted in too fast for the Algiers insurrection to start moving in metropolitan France, or even to create an irreversible situation in Algeria. Faced with the threat of failure, the major and minor political differences between the various Army and ultra groups had to be silenced. A big name was needed to cover up these differences. The name of de Gaulle—revered by some of the groups, execrated by others—was put forward. De Gaulle emissaries arrived in Algiers, and in Paris, de Gaulle began to speak. The insurrection was safe.

Thus went the first chapter of the Algiers insurrection..

A MATTER OF DEGREE: The next chapter is being written before our eyes. It is being written by the Algiers Public Safety Committee in a clearly neo-Vichyist, neo-fascist style.

But the vital question asked for the past weeks—"Will de Gaulle want to, will he be able to dominate the fascist elements who have carried him to power?"—has already lost some of its pertinence.

As de Gaulle is busy burying the Fourth Republic in perfectly legal form; as he already wields executive and legislative powers that only Bonaparte, Louis Napoléon Bonaparte (Napoleon III) and Pétain have held in French history; as he prepares a plebiscite reminiscent of Louis Napoléon and his coup d'etat, and a constitution recalling Germany's pre-Hitler Weimar constitution, the near future, under de Gaulle, seems no longer a question of direction, but merely a question of degree.

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BOOKS

Signposts on the road to a socialist America

AMONG THOSE who believe that socialism is not only desirable but also inevitable, there have always been some who did not sufficiently recognize the urgency of political action and of trade-union activities for the advancement of the socialist time-table. They more or less assumed that the wheels of history would work on their own motive power and that man's action, while not being negligible, was not essential.

This faith in the eventual victory of socialism has had a paralyzing effect on many. They did not realize that the tools of history are human beings and that a well-organized and adequately informed working class is a prerequisite to the development towards socialism.

To prepare the working class and its leaders for the tasks ahead is probably nowhere more important than in the United States. Here the great damage that has been done both by an insidious propaganda about the superb merits of the "American system" and by the shortcomings of all parts of the labor movement has to be undone.

BEFORE WORKING MEN and women may become interested in socialism they must gain adequate information about what capitalism actually is, how it works, what it means to them and their children, and what its implications are upon society as a whole. They must be told about the changing nature of capitalism and its inherent evolutionary tendencies in the direction of socialism.

The other part of the task is of a different nature. Those who have become convinced that socialism is the only, and the only worthwhile, alternative to capitalism and who are determined to work towards the accomplishment of that ideal must try to gain clarity about the long-run strategy to be employed as well as about the desirable tactics in the day-to-day fight. This is a formidable job much of which remains yet to be done in the United States.

The relatively few who have recognized both the necessity of analyzing capitalism and of mapping the road ahead have faced, in addition to many other obstacles, the difficulty of finding adequate teaching material. Our literature is very insufficient for the purposes at hand.

IT IS A PLEASURE, therefore, to call attention to a recent publication that will be of real help to all those who are earnestly concerned about the crying need of developing a sound and conscious socialist movement in the United States. **Towards A Socialist America*** is a collection of individual essays about capitalism and socialism edited by Helen Alfred.

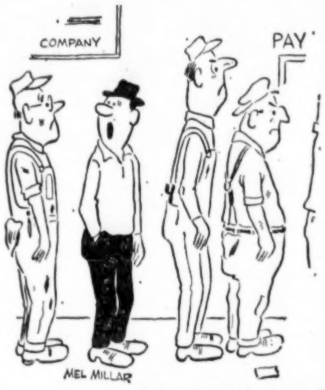
The introduction to the collection, prepared by the editor herself, is more precise in suggesting the immediate steps which appear necessary at this time towards socialism in America than any of the 15 contributions to the book. She realizes the crucial need for basic research into the problems of socialism, the essentiality of education, and the indispensability of a new political party devoted to an undogmatic approach to socialist ideals and calculated to attract large segments of the Americn people. In view of the widespread pessimism, not to say lethargy, among people on the American Left it is refreshing to see someone making concrete suggestions for the job facing us.

The individual essays, contributed by Stephen H. Fritchman, Bertha Reynolds, John Howard Lawson, John T. McManus, Broadus Mitchell, Herbert Aptheker, Paul M. Sweezy, Victor Perlo, Carl Dreher, George Olshausen, Scott Nearing, Reuben Borough, W. E. B. DuBois, Homer Ayers and Philip S. Foner are unequal in value, as one would expect in such a symposium. Many of them do more in describing the inadequacies and injustices of capitalism than in analyzing the tendencies towards socialism or in making specific recommendations as to the policies with socialists in America should pursue in furthering the transition from capitalism.

In doing so some of the essays present most useful analyses of certain segments of capitalist America. Others go further in discussing specific problems which either the transition towards socialism or socialism itself would pose. But all of them encourage the reader to think afresh through the many thorny problems of contemporary America. None of them will fail to have a highly stimulating effect on socialists and would-be socialists.

—Otto Nathan

*TOWARD A SOCIALIST AMERICA, a Symposium of Essays, edited by Helen Alfred. Peace Publications, P.O. Box 164, Planetarium Station, New York 24, N.Y. 223 pp. $3.50.



Oil, Chem. & Atomic Union News, Denver

"A year ago we started setting aside something every month, even if it was a small amount. Now we're up to $2.90."

Passport ruling

(Continued from Page 1)

The ruling seemed to clear the way for a passport for Paul Robeson who has been denied one since 1950 when he refused to sign a non-Communist affidavit. Last August, as the clamor to hear Robeson in other countries mounted, the State Dept. cleared him to travel in the Western Hemisphere. He was still barred from going to Europe where offers of concert engagements had been piling up. In England welcome-Robeson committees had been formed to bring him over.

OTHER CASES: The decision seemed to settle other passport claims, too. Corliss Lamont, who also refused on principle to sign the affidavit, has a suit pending in the U.S. Court of Appeals. William Worthy Jr., who was refused a passport last January because he would not sign an affidavit agreeing to limit his travel to countries approved by the State Dept., also has a case pending. He incurred the State Dept.'s displeasure in 1956-7 when, as correspondent for the **Afro-American,** the N.Y. **Post** and the Columbia Broadcasting System, he visited China and Hungary, both declared off-limits by the Department.

Anna Louise Strong had also filed suit to compel the Department to issue a passport so that she could go to Moscow for the GUARDIAN.

The significant news, however, did not lie in the celebrated cases of passport denial but in the fact that an old freedom had been restored to all American citizens. Before World War I no passports had been required at all for U.S. citizens traveling abroad. After 1918 it became a crime to leave the country without a passport during wartime. In 1941 Congress gave the President authority to make that provision applicable in a state of national emergency.

The State Dept. has been withholding passports for political reasons because, it maintains, the state of emergency still exists technically and because a Presidential executive order forbids travel abroad except in conformity with rules of the State Dept.

In 1948 the U.S. signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UN Assembly, which says in Article 13: "Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own, and to return to his country."

In effect, the Supreme Court last week affirmed that right and upheld a lower court ruling that the right to travel is "an attribute of personal liberty."

Harvey O'Connor, chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, said of the ruling:

"No legal authority exists for political questioning as a prerequisite for passports. The whole world has gained by the reestablishment of the American citizen's right to travel. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is proud that its general Counsel, Leonard B. Boudin, won these cases and praises Rockwell Kent and Dr. Walter Briehl for their courage in resisting the illegal questioning by the department, and fighting through to victory in the courts."

Rosenberg-Sobell case on N.Y. station WNEW

Radio program **Counterpoint** on New York radio station WNEW (1130 kc.), will air a discussion of the Rosenberg-Sobell case on two Sundays, June 22 and June 29, both from 9:35 to 10 p.m.

Roy Cohn, one of the Rosenberg-Sobell prosecutors, will be interviewed on June 22. Prof. Malcolm Sharp of the Univ. of Chicago law school, a member of the Rosenbergs' legal defense and author of a book on the case, **Was Justice Done,** will be interviewed June 29.

The interviews will be conducted by Prof. William Kunstler of New York University.

VAN PERFORMS A MUSICAL RITE

VAN CLIBURN, the Texas pianist acclaimed by Soviet and American audiences, recently visited the grave of Russian composer Sergei Rachmaninoff in Kensico Cemetery, Valhalla, N.Y. He carried with him soil from Tschaikowsky"s grave in the Soviet Union in which he had planted a lilac bush. This he replanted at Rachmaninoff's grave. The gesture of symbolically bringing together the Russian masters on American soil was typical of Cliburn's frequently exhibited respect for his art and for the international understanding that might flow from it. Cliburn is now on a European concert tour.

The Un-Americans open hearings in New York

THE HOUSE COMMITTEEE on Un-American Activities opened its hearings in New York City on Tuesday, June 7. The witch-hunt's target for this trip was the entertainment field and some 30 witnesses were scheduled to appear. Rep. Morgan M. Moulder (D-Mo.) was to conduct the hearings, allegedly to discover how those in the TV, radio and theatrical fields who had left the Communist Party were continuing to support it.

In other cities a filled hearing room has frequently forced the committee to cut short its inquisition. Hearings were scheduled in Room 129 of the Federal Court House in Manhattan's Foley Sq. Morning sessions run from 10 to 12, afternoon sessions from 2 to 5 at least through June 19 or 20.

Powell-Schuman defense loses move to dismiss

A MAJOR CRIMINAL trial without defense witnesses loomed as a distinct probability as Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman on June 4 denied defense motions for dismissal or postponement of sedition charges against John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman.

Defense attorneys A. L. Wirin and Doris Brin Walker argued that refusal of the U.S. government to sign a pact of judicial assistance with Chinese authorities made it impossible to bring to the trial some 200 Chinese witnesses who are prepared to support statements made by the defendants. They contended the charges should be dismissed or the trial postponed pending a further effort to secure an agreement.

UNITED INDEPENDENT-SOCIALIST CONFERENCE PLANK ON SOCIAL CHANGE

For democracy, planned economy, and socialism

THE COOPERATIVE SYSTEM of socialism is superior to the profits-first system of capitalism. This is no longer a matter of theory but of fact. In the short time of four decades, planned economy brought Russia from the most backward country in Europe to the position of second power in the world.

Planned economy in America can register even more phenomenal success. It will begin with the world's most advanced industrial plant, the largest and most skilled working class and a powerful democratic tradition. Moreover, America will not face the obstacles that hindered the Russian workers. We will not be subject to a Hitlerite invasion, to the devastation of war, or to the pressure of a surrounding hostile world.

Planned economy in America can rapidly find links with other planned economies, thus bringing into play a new force of immense proportions—planned international economic cooperation.

IN AMERICA the assurance of a world of enduring peace and prosperity will certainly release sources of energy and enthusiasm among the working people that will more than match the swift development of atomic energy as the basic power for industry-wide automation.

The slums and unsightly factories of today that pollute our streams and atmosphere will give way to shining cities and gleaming plants designed to help heal the hideous scars of industrialization under capitalism.

As living becomes easier and richer, the blighting prejudices and hatreds of today will surely give way to feelings of solidarity and friendship with all mankind.

THE POSSIBILITIES of achievement under the rational planning of socialism, bold as they may seem, are completely feasible. All that is required is the breadth of view, the confidence in progress, and the courage and determination needed to carry through the struggle to success. In opening up this new continent of economic and social change, America's pioneer spirit faces its greatest challenge.

The United Independent-Socialist ticket welcomes every development which brings labor into the political arena in collision with the entrenched political machines. We welcome every development which brings the Negro people against the parties of the racist-Big Business ruling clique.

The alliance of labor and the Negro people in struggle for common political objectives will result in the emergence of an independent mass Labor Party which will attract the support of the small farmer, the professionals, the youth and all the forces of the people. This new political alignment can effectively battle the monopolist parties—only then will we have a real two-party system.

WE SOCIALISTS know that the solutions to the grave problems facing the American people will not come as a gift from well-meaning liberals; such solutions can be won only through gigantic struggles involving labor, the Negro people and other minority groups. Through such struggles, waged on both the economic and political fronts, the American people will replace the profit system with a planned society. Only a socialist economy can end the recurrent crises, war drives, race prejudice and poverty of today and harness the vast resources of our country and the abundant energy of our people to meet the complex needs of the nation in the atomic age.

We invite all socialists—Marxists, Christian Socialists, humanists, pacifists, to support the United Independent-Socialist slate as a way of affirming their belief in the great human goals of socialism.

We invite all independents—Democrats, Republicans and unaffiliated voters—to register their protest against the do-nothing and do-wrong policies of the Republicans and Democrats by voting the United Independent-Socialist Ticket.

N.Y. conference

(Continued from Page 1)

York ballot for the 1960 campaign and thereafter if its candidate for governor could get the required minimum of 50,000 votes.

Of the 700 New Yorkers who responded to the call to the Conference, more than 500 attended in person. The call was sponsored by a group of individuals including Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Corliss Lamont, Rockwell Kent, Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, Dr. Howard Selsam, Mrs. Muriel McAvoy, John T. McManus, Joyce Cowley, Henry Abrams, former American Labor Party leader, and others. Independents made up some 300 of the attendance, with leaders and members of the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance estimated to make up the rest.

AT THE OPENING session Friday evening, June 13, a selection of opening speakers, representing participating groups and including CP leader Ben Davis and Joyce Cowley of the SWP, agreed among themselves to leave substantive issues before the Conference until the first business session Saturday.

The final guest speaker, 1952 Progressive candidate for President, Vincent Hallinan of California, obviously unaware of such truce arrangements, launched into a bristling challenge of CP leadership and policy on independent political action. Mr. Davis left the hall during the address. At the conclusion Mr. Hallinan's remarks were vigorously applauded by many in the audience but Communist leaders and others expressed anger and concern and demanded apologies.

The presiding committee of the Conference issued a statement at the start of the Saturday morning session expressing regret that Mr. Hallinan had used the Conference platform to express personal views concerning the CP, asserting that such statements did not contribute to the spirit of friendly discussion and unity of purpose desired by the Conference.

FOLLOWING this statement, delivered by Henry Abrams, co-chairman of the presiding committee, the other co-chairman, John T. McManus, presented the main resolution of the day calling for a full slate of candidates. Mr. Davis then presented the CP's position, but did not offer it as a substitute resolution. However, discussion of the two points of view continued until after 7 p.m., when the main resolution was passed by a voice vote following rejection of the only amendment offered.

The Sunday session was devoted to the platform, which was read and proposed to the Conference by Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein and unanimously adopted. The preamble followed the lines of the Conference Call published in the GUARDIAN June 2. The platform was divided into six main parts.

- The first, "for peaceful relations with the rest of the world" called for a ban on nuclear weapons testing and an initiative toward international dismantling of atomic weapons stockpiles; recognition of and help to modernize China; East-West friendship and trade; cessation of help to reactionary regimes, an end to "oil imperialism" in the Middle East; self-determination for Puerto Rico; withdrawal of U.S. troops from foreign soil and an end to military alliances such as NATO and SEATO.

- As anti-depression measures, part two of the platform called for converting the war budget into a peace budget for schools, hospitals and other needed public developments; repeal of excise taxes and those on incomes below $10,000; 30-hour work week with no pay reduction; unlimited unemployment compensation at full wages; distribution of surplus goods; and operation of shutdown plants by worker-elected managements.

- Part three dealt with elimination of jimcrow in the North as well as the South with the active participation of the labor movement with the Negro people and all other forces.

- Part four dealt with civil liberties, including repeal of state and federal statutes and demands for freedom for political prisoners, including Morton Sobell and Smith Act prisoners Gil Green and Henry Winston.

A trans-atlantic query from a British comrade

AFTER THE SATURDAY session, a delegate to the N.Y. Independent-Socialist political conference, Elinor Ferry, received a trans-Atlantic telephone call from an old friend in England. It was British M.P. Harold Davies, a leader of the Victory for Socialism group in the British Labor Party. He wanted to know how the political conference was coming on, since he and M.P.s Ian Mikardo and Stephen Swingler have been invited to tour the U.S. during late August and September.

Miss Ferry replied that the Conference was struggling hard for agreements; and that the visiting M.P.s might have some political rallies to address during their summer visit.

"Are you calling each other 'Comrade' yet?" he asked, referring to the Labor Party custom.

"Not yet," she replied, "but we're trying!"

- Part five, "unshackle the labor movement," called for repeal or defeat of anti-labor legislation such as the Taft-Hartley Law and so-called "Right to Work" laws; and for the establishment of internal union democracy as a "corollary."

- Part six, reprinted in full at the top of this page under its platform title, is the Conference's effort to envision a socialist future without undertaking to match widely varying views among socialist groupings.

The draft platform was remarkable for the absence of controversial views and objectives, although drafted by representatives of several contending schools of socialist thought. Suggestions sent to the continuing committee from the floor were all offered in the same non-contentious spirit.

The Conference's continuing committee will resume sessions this week. Nominating petitions for candidates may be circulated from July 29 to Sept. 9. Communications may be addressed to Independent Political Conference, 1133 Broadway, New York 10.

EATON ON BULLS, BULLIES AND BOLSHEVIKS

INDUSTRIALIST CYRUS EATON has a busy summer schedule. He is to go to Moscow to press for peaceful, competitive co-existence, taking with him a prize steer which he first showed to Soviet Ambassador and Mrs. Menshikov (above) when they visited him at his Ohio estate.

He had been expected to come to Washington first on a subpena reportedly prepared for him by the House Committee on Un-American Activities after he delivered a blistering TV attack on the FBI and the army of snoopers which he compared, in size alone, to Hitler's Gestapo. The subpena was never issued but last week he met privately with committee chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), Gordon Scherer (R-Ohio) and committee staff director Richard Arens.

Walter later implied that Eaton had arranged the meeting to dodge a subpena. Walter also said that Eaton's reference to the Gestapo was "too much for my stomach." Eaton called Walter's statement "characteristic intellectual dishonesty" and Aren's earlier TV comments "deliberate misrepresentation . . . gross untruth and demagoguery." He said: "I should like nothing better than to have a chance to tell the committee face to face and let the world know, how despicable are the un-American tactics of Messrs. Walter and Arens in attempting to intimidate, bully and push citizens around." After the interview Walter indicated that he would not recommend that the committee summon Eaton to a public hearing.

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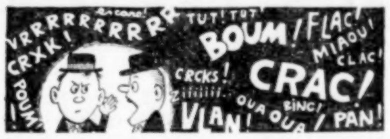
Pro-summit feeling

(Continued from Page 1)

mit meeting leading at least to a ban on nuclear tests were somewhat dimmed by Dulles' statements at his June 10 press conference. Washington Associated Press correspondent James Marlow reported:

"He suddenly threw Red China into the picture and, for good measure, the Sahara Desert. Both raise new problems in reaching an agreement. The way Dulles did it was startling."

NEW ROADBLOCKS: Dulles told correspondents that nuclear test suspension inspection posts would have to be set up in China to prevent the Soviet Union from moving their "testing into a neighboring territory . . . beyond control or check." A correspondent reminded Dulles:


VRRRRRRRRR
Encore!
TUT! TUT
CRXK!
BOUM! FLAC!
MIAOU!
CLAC!
POUM!
CRCKS!
CRAC!
VLAN!
OUA OUA
BING!
PAN!

Liberation, Paris

". . . I said this noise is deafening . . . I said this noise . . ."

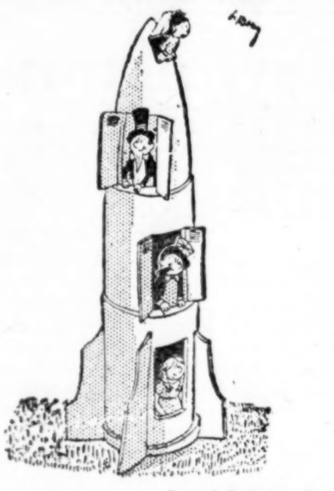
"In another press conference you said you did not believe Russia would ever entrust Communist China with any atomic testing data or testing program and, therefore, you did not anticipate any need for an agreement with China on a Soviet testing program."

Dulles blandly replied: "I don't remember having said all those things." He never explained how the UN could handle inspection in China—as the U.S. proposed—while Washington blocked UN recognition of Peking.

By referring to a need for inspection posts in the Sahara, Dulles shrewdly reminded the French that they had been insistent on developing their own A- and H-bomb before reaching any international agreement on test suspension. Paris last month announced its intention to hold tests in the Sahara, which brought vigorous protests from Morocco and Tunisia.

UNTENABLE CASE: Dulles also reiterated his stand that agreement on a test ban must be part of a package deal, including solution of political problems such as reunification of Germany. Again, when a correspondent reminded him that Washington had tacitly agreed to "detaching the idea of a nuclear testing ban from the rest of our disarmament package," Dulles replied as if he were arguing an untenable case before a court.

He said that, while the U.S. had earlier insisted on a simultaneous agreement on all parts of the package proposal, it now was willing to go step by step but to reserve the right to disavow any agreement already reached if no agreement were reached on a following step. Dulles also repeated what has often been exposed as untrue: That at the previous Geneva meeting Moscow had agreed to the reunification of Germany.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

NATO's three-stage rocket

STILL POSSIBLE: Dulles made obvious at his press conference that he was still determined to block even a minimum relaxation of East-West tension, that he still believed continued pressure would bring about the collapse of the Soviet government. He told correspondents that Premier Khrushchev in his letter to the President asking for expanded U.S.-Soviet trade merely "wanted to get credit from us so that [Moscow] could more successfully pursue its economic warfare against us."

But, as **Times** correspondent **James Reston** noted, Dulles' statement was "not an accurate account of the Moscow proposal." Reston said that asking for U. S. credit "was only one part of the Khrushchev proposal," and that this was solicited only to increase trade with the U.S. Even without credit, Moscow was willing to buy purely non-strategic material from the U.S. and pay for them with Soviet goods, including, as Reston noted, "materials that are on Washington's prohibited list."

Dulles' press conference statements seemed discouraging and apparently put a damper on the talks the U.S. and British ambassadors were carrying on with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. In a letter to President Eisenhower, Premier Khrushchev regretted these obstructionist tactics, but agreed to the Geneva meeting. The possibility remained that the first hesitant step toward a top-level meeting will be taken at Geneva next month.

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Publications

- **Dulles "favors" a test ban —truth or hoax?**
- **After test cessation —WHAT?**

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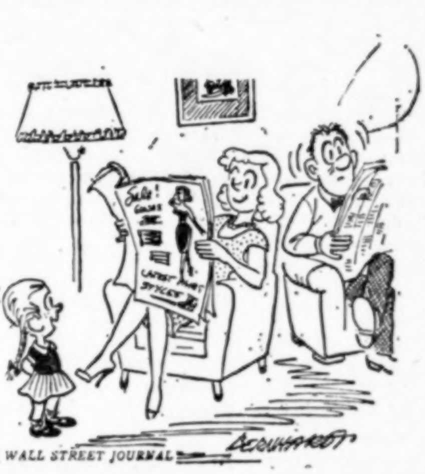
THE GALLERY

WITH AN AMERICAN FLAG WAVING in the background, a young man mounted a small white soap-box in front of Bronx HS of Science in New York City. A crowd of between 50 and 60 young students gathered as the speaker, Richard DeHaan, chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance (144 Second Av., Manhattan), began in a loud voice: "We are here today to show you what happens to free speech in the city of New York. We want to find out . . ." At that point he found out. Two cops took him and another YSA member off to a police car. The pair was charged with disorderly conduct.

Two days earlier the youth organization had held its first meeting before the high school and the police did not interfere, though a large group of students heckled the speakers and threw eggs while an equally large group defended their right to talk. Two days after the arrests, the YSA returned to the scene and held a peaceful meeting attended by 300-500 students with no police interference.

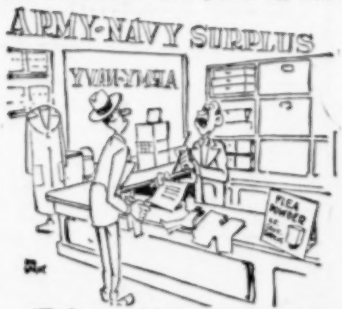
IF YOU MUST DIE, die early in the week, is the advice of the Toronto Memorial Society. Week-day funerals are cheaper and embalmers who work on week-ends are paid overtime rates, it notes. . . . According to the **Wall Street Journal**, the following canned goods are now available to the housewife in search of "something different": quail eggs, bumble-bees, rooster combs, grasshoppers, jellied sharkskin, select kangaroo tails, baked bats, and larks stuffed with creamed and truffled goose livers. . . . The latest in services for the elite golfing crowd can be found at a Chicago golf course—a flying saloon. Duffers can hire for $85 an hour a helicopter that will hower over the fairway and whenever any foursome waves its special yellow flag it will land and serve drinks all around. The cost of the liquor and the salary for the pretty girl who serves it are extra.



Wall Street Journal
"How old will I have to be to have a charge account of my own, mommie?"

THE MOISEYEV DANCERS will take over a full-hour "Ed Sullivan Show" on Sunday, June 29, CBS has announced. This will be the first time Ed Sullivan has devoted his entire show to a single group. . . . Robin Hood, who carries out daring exploits on TV Monday nights (especially where Maid Marian is concerned), turns his attentions to monopoly on June 23. He will foil attempts to set up a salt monopoly by that robber baron Lord Guthrie and that thieving official, the Sheriff of Nottingham. . . . An original musical, with Negro authors and an interracial cast, is scheduled for a Broadway opening in November. The play is entitled "The Blues Ain't," with book and lyrics by Van Prince and music by Frank Fields. . . . Seattle radio station KOL is using subliminal perception to battle its rival, television. While hit tunes are being played, the station runs these comments, not audible to a listener but supposedly capable of penetrating his subconscious: "TV is a crashing bore"; "Goodness, isn't TV dull?"; and "Those TV westerns are all the same."

JEAN MUIR, BLACKLISTED FROM TV SINCE 1950, made her comeback last week on NBC's Matinee Theater. The former movie star was dropped from her role as the mother in the old "Aldrich Family" series because of a listing in "Red Channels." She plans an active acting schedule in New York or Hollywood. . . . Freeda and David Diamond, who have won the right to retain American citizenship after a four-year fight against denaturalization, will have their victory celebrated on Saturday, June 28, 6 p.m., at City Terrace Cultural Center, 3875 City Terrace Dr., Los Angeles. . . . A group of housewives in a Washington, D.C., suburb recently decided to form a baby-sitting club. One of them, a lady who said her husband worked for the FBI, showed up for the first meeting with the Attorney General's list. She said members would have to sign a pledge that they belonged to none of the listed organizations before she would join the club. Everyone refused to sign and so far the FBI wife hasn't said whether she'll join the baby-sitters anyway.



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GUARDIAN VITAMINS! See p. 12

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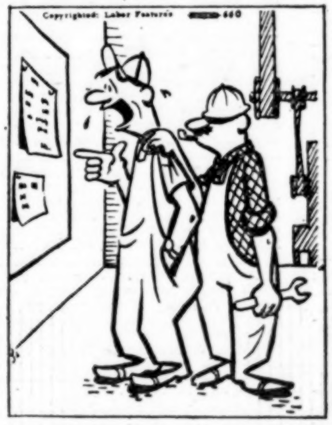
NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Mr. Berg's Passion

WE'VE HAD A RASH of surgery at the GUARDIAN lately, both in the London bureau and at home, which now gives signs of clearing up. I have taken a solemn vow not to talk about my operation, but that does not mean I cannot talk about somebody else's.

Let's call him Mr. Berg, because that's not his name. His room was across the corridor from mine, and the reasons I got to know so much about his condition were two-fold: (1) the hospital acoustics were excellent; (2) two baby pigeons had just been hatched outside my window and there was a steady stream of nurses with maternal instincts passing through my quarters. They always paused for a chat, and I always asked questions.



Oil, Chem. Atom, U. News, Denver
"The efficiency expert's wife just had triplets!"

Mr. Berg had had a serious operation and was not mobile during my first days. He had three special nurses in eight-hour shifts. The 4 p.m. to midnight nurse was German, and she and her patient discussed world affairs, when he was up to it, in German. They had de Gaulle pretty well figured out.

The midnight to 8 a.m. nurse was Irish, and of her I knew little, since I was mostly asleep. Each morning I waited for her to say: "Well, I'll be sayin' good mornin' to ye, Mr. Berg, and I hope ye'll be havin' a good day."

BUT AT ABOUT 8:05 A.M. the corridor came alive. Mrs. K, the day nurse, had arrived. "Oh," said the voice from around Scranton, Pa., "you're up to your old tricks, are you, Mr. Berg? Now let's leave the inspection of the operation to the doctors. God knows, you've got two of them. If you want me to stay with you today, you'll have to behave. Are you going to be a good boy?"

Before I met Mrs. K., I worried about that tough voice and I felt sorry for Mr. Berg. But when I met her I changed my mind. Tough she was in voice and manner and figure, but the eyes gave her away; she was a kind person.

The morning was busy. Mr. Berg got his breakfast and his bath to a running fire of admonitions and encouragements from Mrs. K. He was happy. He responded like a child. He knew he was loved.

THEN, AT 11 A.M. EACH DAY, the signal for visitors, it happened. Down the corridor came the clicking of solid feminine heels. Three pairs—momma and two daughters. They paused outside Mr. Berg's curtained half-door, the door squeaked open, and a voice said: "How are you today, Poppa?"

A great groan came up from Mr. Berg's bed—the first of the day. Whether it was escape or a desire for sympathy, I could not for a time fathom. But there were many more groans during the day, and they ceased marvelously when visiting hours ended at 9 p.m.

From 11 a.m. on each day it was a running battle—Mrs. K. vs. The Family. First she shooed them out so she could work. Then she scolded them for fretting over Poppa. Then she suggested acidly that she didn't need three assistants. A few times during the day a fourth member of the family came on the scene—a son-in-law who was a technician at the hospital. I always knew he was there when I heard Mrs. K. bark: "I think two doctors are enough. Why don't you go back to your laboratory?"

At times the family got too much even for me and, despite my concern for Mr. Berg and my curiosity, I had to close my own door in self-defense and be alone with the pigeons.

IN SPITE OF EVERYTHING, HOWEVER, Mr. Berg improved and, the day before I went home, I finally met him. He was tentatively walking the length of the corridor, on Mrs. K.'s arm. He was a gentle-faced man of about 70, and he wore an orthodox yarmalka. "This is your neighbor from across the hall," Mrs. K. said. Mr. Berg smiled a greeting, a bit sheepish, I thought, yet a little defiant, too, as though to say, "Maybe it's been a little trouble for you, but I've got my rights too."

But the episode I cherished most that week was the exchange between Mrs. K. and Mr. Berg (really a monologue) when she was trying to get him to eat better. It seems that he was strictly kosher and, except for dairy things, the family brought him food from home. In her most official manner Mrs. K. said: "You've just got to get some red meat in you. Never mind about the dietary laws. When you get up there, you just tell them you've been sick, in the hospital; they'll understand."

The morning I was to leave, I lay in my bed weaving a fantasy finish to this story: It was 15 years later, and Mr. Berg arrived in Heaven. St. Peter, sitting at the gate with his copy of the **Times,** looked over his glasses at the new arrival. "Good morning, Reb' Peter," said Mr. Berg worriedly, "there's one thing I have to tell you . . . about a day I was in the hospital . . ."

St. Peter interrupted with a smile: "It's all right, Mr. Lerg, we know all about it. Come in, come right in."

A short time later there was a sound of clicking heels, even though the floor was all clouds. St. Peter looked up again. "Name, please?" he said. The three ladies in severe suits said in unison: "Berg." St. Peter shook his head regretfully.

"Sorry," he said, "no visitors today."

—James Aronson